1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
● [683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods--acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[a] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[b] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[c] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[d] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.